#### Government and politics of Latin America

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#### I. Course Description

This course is designed to introduce students to some of the most important problems and debates with regard to democratic consolidation in Latin America. After the Cold war ended, in 1990, most of Latin America's countries (with the exception of Cuba) embraced the Washington Consensus, and move from authoritarian regimes to electoral democracies. However, after almost 30 years some countries have experienced a wide range of impediments to reach democratic consolidation. For the most part, Latin American governments have failed to create, develop and consolidate strong and durable institutions, as well as in building a strong and effective civil society. After three decades, enthusiasm have been replaced by concern among Latin Americans, which calls into question the desirability of this system of government in the region (Diamond & Plattner, 2015).

The purpose of this course is to train students to understand how the initial democratic transitions occurred and to explore the current nature of political dynamics in the region as Latin Americans face numerous challenges (considering case analysis of specific countries). One of the main objectives is to challenge students to analyze complex problems in Latin American politics, encourage them to provide informed arguments on these matters and to think critically about the Latin American reality. In addition to reading and classroom presentations, this class will invite students to write and orally communicate their observations about the substantive questions and topics. The course has no specific academic requirements (i.e. if the student do not have any background in political science or Latin American studies). However, the students should be proactive throughout the semester in asking questions and seeking clarification either in class or during my office hours. The only requirement is to be undergraduate/graduate student at USACH.

## II. Class Requirements

Students will be required to submit one academic paper (either in English or Spanish) at the end of semester (this will account for 50% of the final grade). Students must choose any six of the assigned readings (as a minimum). During the first week of evaluations, students must submit a first version of the paper with significant progress. This will account for 30% of the final grade. In addition, this course requires compulsory attendance, which will account for 10% of the final grade (**70% of the sessions as a minimum** = **4.0**).

Students are expected to submit a 6,000-word (25-doble spaced pages) case-study paper of their choice. This paper requirement is intended for students to put to use the theoretical tools learned in class and apply them to their own area of research interest. Using one of the theoretical frameworks presented in the class (or an alternative framework provided the proper substantiated theoretical basis) and some of the articles discussed here, students

should test some of the hypothesis and propositions discussed in the literature and examine their relevance in the context of their own research topic.

## Required and recommended books will be posted on U-Cursos

## III. Recommended Background Readings

For those with no prior knowledge of Latin American history and politics, I recommend four books as background reading materials:

- Halperín-Donghi, Tulio. 1993. *The Contemporary History of Latin America*. Duke University Press.
- Bethell, Leslie. 1996. *Ideas and Ideologies in Twentieth Century Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.

## Weekly Readings

## Week 1. Latin American Politics Today: An Overview. Historical Background.

## **Required Readings**

Fukuyama, Francis. 2008. "The Latin American Experience." *Journal of Democracy* 19 (4):69-79.

## **Recommended Readings**

(For those who need to strengthen their historical background on Latin America).

Halperín-Donghi, Tulio. 1993. *The Contemporary History of Latin America*. Duke U. Press

## Week 2. Basic Methodological Issues.

- Fearon, James. 1991. "Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing in Political Science" *World Politics* 43 (January) pp. 169-95.
- Mainwaring, Scott, David Brinks and Anibal Perez-Linan. 2001. "Classifying Political Regimes in Latin America, 1945-1999" *Studies In Comparative International Development* 36 (1): 37-65 (Spring).
- Alvarez, Michael, Jose A. Cheibub, Fernando Limongi et al. 1996. "Classifying Political Regimes" *Studies In Comparative International Development* 31 (2): 3-36 (Summer).

- Goodin, R. E. and C. Tilly (2008). *The Oxford handbook of contextual political analysis*, OUP Oxford.
- Box-Steffensmeier, J. M., H. E. Brady, et al. (2008). *The Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology*, Oxford University Press.

#### Week 3. Economic Development and Democratic Consolidation. Required Readings

- Bulmer-Thomas, Victor. 2003. *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence*. Cambridge University Press.
- Valenzuela, Arturo, and J. Samuel Valenzuela. 1978. "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment." *Comparative Politics* 10 (4):535-57.
- Love, Joseph. 1996. "Economic Ideas and Ideologies in Latin America Since 1930." In *Ideas and Ideologies in Twentieth Century Latin America*, ed. L. Bethell. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

#### **Recommended Readings**

- Santiso, J. and J. Dayton-Johnson (2012). *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American Political Economy*, Oxford University Press.
- Ocampo, J. A. and J. Ros (2011). *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American Economics*, Oxford University Press.
- Stein, Ernesto, Mariano Tommasi, Koldo Echebarría, Eduardo Lora, and Eduardo Payne.
  2006. *The politics of Policies. Economic and Social Progress in Latin America*.
  Washington D.C.: Inter American Development Bank.
- Furtado, Celso. 1970. *Economic Development of Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.

#### Week 4. Economic Reform and Democratic Consolidation.

- Fukuyama, Francis (ed). 2008. *Falling Behind. Explaining the Development Gap between Latin America and the United States.* Oxford University Press.
- Boix, Carles and Susan C. Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous democratization" World Politics 55 (4): 517+ (July).

- Weyland, Kurt Gerhard. 2004. "Neoliberalism and Democracy in Latin America: A Mixed Record" *Latin American Politics & Society* 46.1. Spring 2004, pp. 135-157.
- Weyland, Kurt. 2002. *The Politics of Market Reforms in Fragile Democracies*. *Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Venezuela*. Princeton University Press.

- Silva, E. (2009). *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America*, Cambridge University Press.
- Navia, Patricio & Andres Velasco. 2003. "The Politics of Second Generation Reforms in Latin America" in John Williamson and Pedro-Pablo Kuczynski (eds.) *After the Washington Consensus: Restarting Growth and Reform in Latin America* Washington: Institute for International Economics.
- Haggard, Stephen & Robert Kaufman. 1995. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Smith, William S., Carlos Acuña, & Eduardo Gamarra (eds.) 1994. *Democracy, Markets, and Structural Reform in Latin America: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico.* New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Oxhorn, Philip D. and Graciela Ducatenzeiler. 1998. *What Kind of Democracy? What Kind of Market? Latin America in the Age of Neoliberalism.* Penn State Press.

#### Week 5. Inequality and Democratic Consolidation.

#### **Required Readings**

- López-Calva, L. and N. Lustig, Eds. (2010). *Declining Inequality in Latin America. A Decade of Progress?* New York, Brookings/UNDP.
- David de Ferranti, Guillermo Perry, Michael Walton, Francisco H.G. Ferreira. 2004. *Inequality in Latin America & the Caribbean: Breaking with History?* Washington: World Bank. Read Summary, Chapters 2 & 4 and as much as you can. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/BRAZILINPOREXTN/Resources/3817166-1185895645304/4044168-1186325351029/10Full.pdf

#### **Recommended Readings**

- Social Panorama of Latin America 2016. http://www.cepal.cl
- 2016 Preliminary overview of the economies of Latin America and the Caribbean 2016 www.cepal.cl
- Chalmers, Douglas et al., (eds.) *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America. Rethinking Participation and Representation.* Oxford University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Perez-Linan Anibal. 2003. "Level of Development and Democracy: Latin American Exceptionalism, 1945-1996" *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (9): 1031-1067 (November).

## Week 6. Presidentialism and Democratic Consolidation.

## **Required Readings**

- Linz, Juan. 1990. "The Perils of Presidentialism" Journal of Democracy 1 (1):51-69.
- Pérez-Liñán, A. (2007). Presidential Impeachment and the New Political Instability in Latin American. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Munck, Gerardo. 2004. "Democratic Politics in Latin America: New Debates and Research Frontiers" *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 7: 437-462 (Volume publication date May 2004)

## **Recommended Readings**

- Mainwaring, Scott P. 1999. *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization. The Case of Brazil.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott, and Matthew Soberg Shugart, eds. 1997. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Linz, Juan J. and Arturo Valenzuela. 1994. *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*. *Volume 1. Comparative Perspectives*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Figueiredo, Angelina. C. and Fernando Limongi. 2000. "Presidential Power, Legislative Organization, and Party Behavior in Brazil" *Comparative Politics* 32 (2): 151 (January).
- Negretto, Gabriel. 2004. "Government capacities and policy making by decree in Latin America - The cases of Brazil and Argentina" *Comparative Political Studies* 37 (5): 531-562 (June).

# Week 7. Political Parties, Democratic Institutions, the Legislature and Democratic Consolidation.

## **Required Readings**

- Kitschelt, H., K. A. Hawkins, et al. (2010). *Latin American Party Systems*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 2000. "The Indispensability of Political Parties." *Journal of Democracy* 11 (1): 48-55.

## **Recommended Readings**

- Alemán, E. and G. Tsebelis (2016). *Legislative Institutions and Lawmaking in Latin America*, Oxford University Press.
- Levitsky, Steven, and Maxwell Cameron. 2003. "Democracy without parties? Political parties and regime change in Fujimori's Peru" *Latin American Politics and Society* 45 (3):1-33.
- Siavelis, Peter, and Scott Morgenstern, eds. 2008. *Pathways to Power: Political Recruitment and Candidate Selection in Latin America*. University Park, PA: Penn State Press.

Morgenstern, Scott and Benito Nacif (ed.). 2002. *Legislative Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.

#### Week 8. Accountability, Democratic Consolidation, Judicial System.

#### **Required Readings**

- O'Donnel, Guillermo. 1998. "Horizontal Accountability in New Democracies" *Journal* of Democracy 9.3 (1998) 112-126.
- Helmke, G. and J. Ríos-Figueroa. 2011. *Courts in Latin America*, Cambridge University Press.
- Negretto, G. L. (2013). *Making Constitutions: Presidents, Parties, and Institutional Choice in Latin America*, Cambridge University Press.

#### **Recommended Readings**

- Ríos-Figueroa, J. (2016). Constitutional Courts as Mediators: Armed Conflict, Civilmilitary Relations, and the Rule of Law in Latin America. Cambridge University Press.
- Maravall, José M. and Adam Przeworski. 2003. *Democracy and the Rule of Law*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Domínguez, Jorge I. And Abraham Lowenthal (eds.) 1996. *Constructing Democratic Governance: Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1990s: themes and issues.* John Hopkins University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend and Carlos H. Waisman (eds.). 1996. *Institutional Design in New Democracies. Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Boulder: West View University Press. pp 1-58, 137-174, 235-250.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg and John M. Carey. 1992. *Presidents and Assemblies. Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1-258.

# Week 9. The Military and Democratic Consolidation (and transition to democracy in Cuba).

## **Required Readings**

- Levitsky, S. and L. A. Way (2010). *Competitive authoritarianism: hybrid regimes after the cold war*, Cambridge University Press.
- Suchlicki, Jaime. 2002. *Cuba: From Columbus to Castro and Beyond*. Washington DC: Potomac Books.

## **Recommended Readings**

Pérez, L. A. (2014). Cuba: Between reform and revolution, Oxford University Press, USA.

- Pion-Berlin, David, ed. *Civil-military relations in Latin America: New analytical perspectives.* Univ of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Fitch, Samuel. 1998. *The Armed Forces and Democracy in Latin America*. John Hopkins University Press.
- Bailey, John and Lucía Dammert. 2006. *Public Security and Police Reform in the Americas*. University of Pittsburgh Press. Barros, Robert. 2002. *Constitutionalism and Dictatorship: Pinochet, the Junta, and the 1980 Constitution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Stepan, Alfred. 1988. *Rethinking Military Politics* Princeton University Press.
- Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan (eds). 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Latin America*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Valenzuela, Arturo. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Guillermo O'Donnell. 1979. *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism*. Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley.
- Camp, Roderic Ai. 2001. *Politics in Mexico: The Democratic Transformation*. Oxford University Press.

#### Week 10. Labor Unions, Social Movements and Democratic Consolidation.

#### **Required Readings**

- Levitsky, Steven. 2003. Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America. Argentine Peronism in Comparative Perspective. Cambridge University Press.
- Murillo, María Victoria. 2001. *Labor Unions, Partisan Coalitions and Market Reforms in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Pribble, J. (2013). *Welfare and party politics in Latin America*, Cambridge University Press.

#### **Recommended Readings:**

- Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier (2002, new edition). *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America.* University of Notre Dame Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy R. Scully. 1995. *Building Democratic Institutions. Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford University Press.
- Levy, Daniel C. Kathleen Bruhn and Emilio Zebadua. 2001. *Mexico: The Struggle for Democratic Development*. University of California Press.
- Coppedge, Michael. 1994. Strong parties and lame ducks: presidential partyarchy and factionalism in Venezuela. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Ames, Barry. 2002. The Deadlock of Democracy in Brazil (Interests, Identities, and Institutions in Comparative Politics). University of Michigan Press.
- Cornelius, Wayne A., Ann. L. Craig & Jonathan Fox (eds.) 1994. *Transforming State-Society Relations in Mexico: The National Solidarity Strategy*. San Diego: Center for U.S.-Mexican Relations.

- Oxhorn, Philip. 1995. Organizing Civil Society. The Popular Sector and the Struggle for Democracy in Chile. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2000. *Forging Democracy from Below. Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador.* Cambridge University Press. (Introduction, theoretical chapters and chapters on El Salvador)
- Rock, David. 2002. *State Building and Political Movements in Argentina*, 1860-1916. Stanford University Press.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 1998. *Deepening Democracy? The Modern Left and Social Movements in Chile and Peru*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

## Week 11. Citizens and Democratic Consolidation.

## **Required Readings**

- Mainwaring, S. and T. R. Scully, Eds. (2010). *Democratic Governance in Latin America*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- McCoy, Jennifer, and David J Myers, eds. 2004. *The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Hawkins, K. A. (2010). Venezuela's Chavismo and Populism in Comparative Perspective. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Corrales, J. and M. Penfold-Becerra (2011). *Dragon in the tropics: Hugo Chavez and the political economy of revolution in Venezuela*, Brookings Institution Press.

## **Recommended Readings**

- Payne, M., D. Zovatto, et al. 2009. *Democracies in development: politics and reform in Latin America*, International IDEA.
- United Nations Development Program. 2005. Democracy in Latin America: Towards a Citizens' Democracy <u>http://democracia.undp.org</u>
- *Human Development Reports* for Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. http://www.desarrollohumano.cl/
- World Human Development Report <u>http://hdr.undp.org/</u>

## Week 12. Indigenous Movements, Religious Movements and Democratic Consolidation.

- Madrid, Raúl. L. 2012. *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Yashar, Deborah. 2005. Contesting Citizenship in Latin America The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge. Cambridge University Press.

- Clearly, Edward and Timothy Steigenga. 2004. *Resurgent Voices in Latin America*. Rutgers University Press.
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2009. *Radical Democracy in the Andres*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Garrard-Burnett V. 2004. "The third church in Latin America: Religion and globalization in contemporary Latin America" *Latin American Research Review* 39 (3): 256-269.
- Warren, Kay B. & Jean E. Jackson. 2003. *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America*. University of Texas Press.
- Yashar, Deborah. 1999. "Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America" *World Politics* 52.1, pp. 76-104.
- Yashar, Deborah. 1998. "Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* (Oct. 1998)
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2003. "Indigenous struggle" *Latin American Research Review* 38 (2): 220-233.
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2003. "Institutional change and ethnic parties in South America" *Latin American Politics and Society* 45 (2): 1-39 (Summer)
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2000. "Party system development and indigenous populations in Latin America The Bolivian case" *Party Politics* 6 (2): 155-174 (April).
- Van Cott, Donna Lee (ed). 1994. *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Warren, Kay B. & Jean E. Jackson. 2003. *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America*. University of Texas Press.
- Burgos-Debray, Elisabeth. 1987. *I, Rigoberta Menchu: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* New York: Verso, 1987.
- Stoll, David. 2000. *Rigoberta Menchu and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans*. Harper Collins.
- Arias, Arturo. 2001. The Rigoberta Menchú Controversy. University of Minnesota Press

#### Week 13. Women, Gender Rights and Democratic Consolidation.

- Htun, Mala. 2003. Sex and the State. Abortion, Divorce and the Family Under Latin American Dictatorships and Democracies. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Jaquette, Jane S. (ed.) 2009. *Feminist agendas and democracy in Latin America*, Duke University Press Books.
- Díez, J. (2015). *The Politics of Gay Marriage in Latin America: Argentina, Chile, and Mexico*, Cambridge University Press.

- Htun, M. (2016). *Inclusion without representation in Latin America: Gender quotas and ethnic reservations*, Cambridge University Press.
- Schwindt-Bayer, L. A. (2010). *Political power and women's representation in Latin America*, Oxford University Press.
- Baldez, Lisa. (2002). Why Women Protest. Women's Movement in Chile. Cambridge University Press.
- Baldez, L. (2007). "Primaries vs. quotas: Gender and candidate nominations in Mexico, 2003." *Latin American Politics and Society* 49(3): 69-96.
- Fernandez, S. (2007). "Barrio Women and Popular Politics in Chávez's Venezuela." *Latin American Politics and Society* 49(3): 97-127.
- Blofield, M. H. and L. Haas (2005). "Defining a democracy: Reforming the laws on women's rights in Chile, 1990-2002." *Latin American Politics and Society* 47(3): 35-68.
- Stephen, Lynn. 1997. Women and Social Movements in Latin America: Power from Below. University of Texas Press.
- Power, Margaret. 2002. *Right-Wing Women in Chile. Feminine Power and the Struggle Against Allende*. Penn State University Press.
- Chaney, E. M. (1979). Supermadre. Women and Politics in Latin America. Austin, University of Texas Press.
- Lavrín, A. (1995). Women, Feminism and Social Change in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. 1890-1940. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.
- Chaney, E. M. and M. García Castro, Eds. (1989). *Muchachas no More. Household Workers in Latin America and the Caribbean.* Philadelphia, Temple University Press.
- Alvarez, Sonia. 1990. Engendering Democracy in Brazil. Princeton University Press.
- Jones, Mark P. and Patricio Navia. 1998. "Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws, and the Election of Women: Assessing the Effectiveness of Quotas in Open List Proportional Electoral Systems" *Social Science Quarterly*. 80: 2 (June): 341-355.

## Week 14. The Left and Democratic Consolidation.

## **Required Readings**

- Weyland, K., R. Madrid, et al., eds. 2010. *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Levitsky, S. and K. M. Roberts. 2011. *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press.
- Castaneda, Jorge C, and Marcos A Morales, eds. 2008. *Leftovers. Tales of the Latin American Left.* New York.

#### **Recommended Readings**

- Murillo, M. V., M. Vaishnav, et al. (2009). "Electoral Revolution or Democratic Alternation?" *Latin American Research Review* 45(3): 87-114.
- Cameron, M. A. (2009). "Latin America's Left Turns: beyond good and bad." *Third World Quarterly* 30(2): 331-348.

- Castañeda, Jorge and Patricio Navia. 2007. "Latin America's Election Year: The Lessons Learned" *Current History*. February.
- Corrales, Javier. 2006. "Hugo Boss." *Foreign Policy* January/February.
- Corrales, Javier. 2006. "The Many Lefts of Latin America." *Foreign Policy* November/December.
- Castañeda, Jorge. 2006. "Left vs. Left in Latin America." Foreign Affairs 85 (3).
- Petras, James. 1999. *The Left Strikes Back. Class Conflict in the Age of Neoliberalism.* Westview Press.
- Castañeda, Jorge. 1994. *Utopia Unarmed. The Latin American Left After the Cold War.* Vitage Books.
- Eduardo Galeano. 1998 (reprint) *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. Monthly Review Press.
- Harnecker, Marta. 1987. Fidel Castro's Political Strategy from Moncada to Victory: From Moncada to Victory. New York: Pathfinder.
- Freire, Paulo. 1999. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Continuum
- De Vylder, Stefan. 1974. *Allende's Chile. The Political Economy of the Rise and Fall of Unidad Popular*. Cambridge University Press.
- Winn, Peter. 1989. Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism. Oxford University Press.
- Faúndez, Julio. 1988. Marxism and Democracy in Chile. Yale University Press.
- Deutschmann, David. 2000. Che Guevara Reader: Writings on Guerrilla Strategy, Politics and Revolution by Che Guevara. Ocean Press.
- Guevara, Ernesto. 1998. *Guerrilla Warfare*. University of Nebraska Press.
- Jorge Castañeda. 1998. Compañero: The Life and Death of Che Guevara. Vintage Books.
- Anderson, Jon Lee. 1998. Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life. New York: Grove Atlantic.
- Jatar-Hausman, Ana. 1999. *The Cuban Way: Capitalism, Communism, and Confrontation*. Kumarian Press.
- Matilde Zimmerman. 2000. *Sandinista. Carlos Fonseca and the Nicaraguan Revolution*. Duke University Press; Durham.
- Booth, John. 1985. *The End and the Beginning: the Nicaraguan Revolution*. Westview Press.

## Papers Due: During the last week of the semester.